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THE GOSPEL OF MONTGOMERY
A year ago in the Holt St. Baptist Church of Montgomery, Ala., the Rev. Martin Luther King (left) and the Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy (right) gave the nation a vision of a new American resistance based on love and a new Christmas sermon concerned not with "walking all over God's Heaven" but with walking God's earth in freedom.

THE YULETIDE ROADSHOW

Inquisitors give no peace or good will--and get none

By John T. McManus

BY BILL OF RIGHTS DAY, Dec. 15, a subcommittee of the House Un-American Activities Committee had concluded a month-long series of inquiries into the public and private activities of about 100 Americans coast-to-coast and were headed home for Christmas.

Perhaps there they found cheer and good will: they found little or none enroute, and gave none. Witnesses braved strong-arm tactics, both physical and verbal, threats of denaturalization, deportation and contempt citations, loss of jobs, but none would give the Committee the right time. To get something in the record beside counter-attacks, the Committee had arranged for at least one stool-pigeon at each hearing, but the tales they told lost the headlines everywhere to the pugnacity of the intended victims.

The subcommittee was headed by Rep. Clyde Doyle (D-Cal.) and had as counsel Richard Arens, Virginia-born veteran of at least a decade of service to Congress' worst xenophobes. It was clearly out to "get" the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and repress as much as possible of the coming attack in the next Congress on the Walter-McCarran immigration law.

HUSTLING LAWYERS: Once in the field, the subcommittee revealed still other targets.

In San Francisco, they made no secret of their hope of destroying the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union headed by Harry Bridges; and on another score disclosed plans to stop all literature from reaching the U.S. from socialist countries.

As in Los Angeles the week before, the subcommittee followed the practice of hustling out lawyers and witnesses who refused to take abuse from congressmen or committee counsel. (The **Guardian** last week inadvertently omitted the name of Daniel G. Marshall from the roll of those tossed out.) In San Francisco, ILWU Secy.-Treas. Louis Goldblatt was expelled along with his attorney and a University of California coed who cheered a Goldblatt statement which wound up with his calling Arens "a two-bit publicity hound."

Others called up in San Francisco included Victor Arnautoff, the artist whose 1955 depiction of Vice-President Nixon as "Dick McSmear" created a nationwide furor. Dr. Holland Roberts, director of the California Labor School; Jeremiah Feingold, bookshop proprietor; and William Heikkila, draftsman facing deportation to Finland whence he was brought to this country as a 2½-month old infant.

PAINTED PUMPKINS: Arnautoff readily admitted having painted the Nixon caricature, showing him holding a pumpkin in one hand and what the hearing counsel called a "smear-brush" in the other. "I still resent the Pumpkin Papers," the artist said. Arnautoff used the Fifth Amendment on all questions concerning

(Continued on Page 4)

THE BREATHLESS RISE OF MR. NIXON

Dulles tries to patch up a splitting NATO but discord reigns

Kumar Goshal

DURING THE PAST two weeks Vice President Nixon and Secy. of State Dulles tried hard to patch up the differences that had arisen between the U. S. and its allies Britain and France over the invasion of Egypt.

On Dec. 6 Nixon delivered a meticulously prepared, sweeping foreign policy speech at an Automobile Manufacturers Assn. dinner in New York. In a broad review of the events of the last six weeks in the Middle East, Europe and the United Nations, the Vice President made the following points:

- In the Middle East, Washington recognized its "solemn obligation" to assert its leadership and lend its support to UN efforts to protect the legitimate interests of Britain and France as well as that of the Middle Eastern countries in the Suez area.
- Regarding the invasion of Egypt, the U. S. "denounced the use of force not sanctioned by self-defense or UN mandate," thereby upholding "the same law for the powerful and strong as for the weak and defenseless."
- The Administration disarmingly recognized that "neither we nor our allies were without fault in our handling of the events" in the Middle East, and that "it is in our interest as well as theirs to assist" Britain in its financial plight growing out of the attack on Egypt. This point was obviously made to strengthen Dulles' hand in the Dec. 11-14 NATO conference in Paris.
- Washington would firmly guarantee the sovereignties of the Middle Eastern countries, promote a "just solution" of the disputes among them and extend "generous aid in solving their very real economic problems."
- The Administration believed that Moscow "may have won the battle for control of Hungary" but it has "lost the battle for the domination of the world."

NIXON'S RISE: Nixon's speech was the kind of major policy statement customarily made by a chief of state, and created quite a stir in the press. Roscoe Drummond said (**N. Y. Herald Tribune,** 12/12), and Presidential secy. Hagerty admitted, that, while reflecting the President's position, the speech was Nixon's own and had not been cleared with the President.

Calling it a "most spectacular development" in Nixon's rise to power, Richard Strout said (**Christian Science Monitor,** 12/12) that "political observers are still holding their breath over his firm, quiet assumption of the role of spokesman for the Administration on foreign policy." Columnist Joseph C. Harsch, noting Nixon's promise of financial aid to Britain, said that the existence of "a Nixon-British friendship . . . is a fact with fascinating domestic political overtones both in the U. S. and in Britain [and] will also be recognized around the world as carrying important power implications."

Columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop called Nixon "far and away the most powerful Vice President in history."

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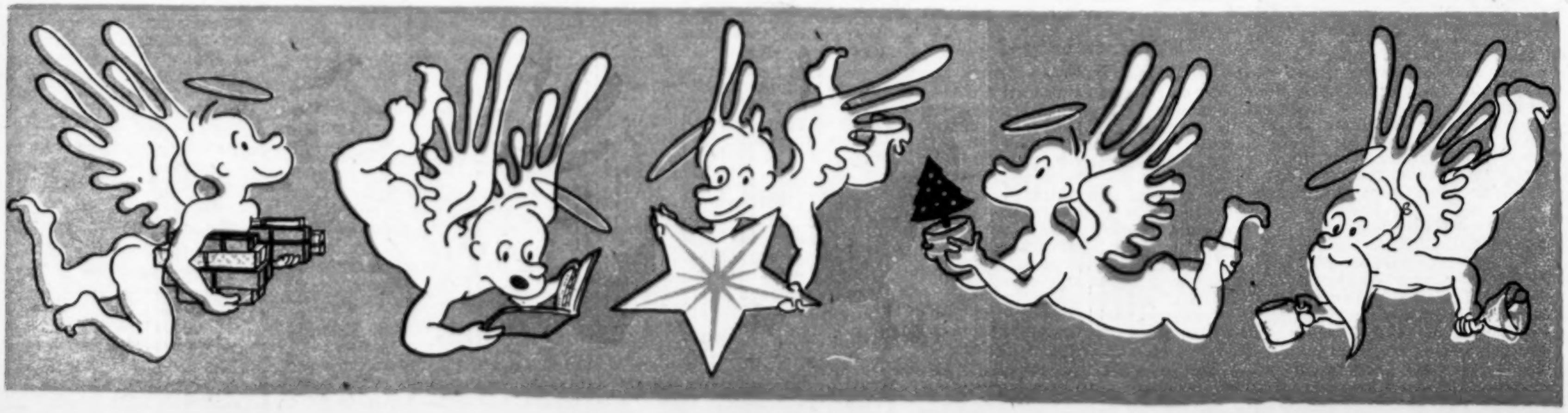

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REPORT TO READERS

South of God

IF ONE WISH were granted to us at this Christmastime, we would use it to wish full freedom for the Negro in America. But while our wish is to right one of the most grievous wrongs in history, some 50,000 men, women and children in Montgomery, Ala., are taking real, measurable steps in this direction.

They are starting a second year of walking—walking to work, to shop, to visit; walking, indeed, to freedom. What began as a protest against segregation in the city's bus system has now become a turningpoint of struggle on the way to all-inclusive democracy in America.

WISHING WON'T WIN this struggle, but dollars will—at least this round of the fight. The Montgomery Improvement Association, founded by the Negro people of Montgomery to carry on this fight, has asked for "Dollars for Freedom" now, right now. These dollars are needed now to fight through a network of lawsuits, for damages running into many thousands, brought by their own city of Montgomery against the Montgomery resisters. In addition, they must resist an economic siege that has been levied against some of them.

CERTAINLY THE HEART of every person of good will in America is with the Montgomery people in their majestic fight. Your own sympathy and good will we take for granted. So for a starter, we are hereby asking you to drop whatever you may be doing at this moment, take a dollar (at least) out of your pocket, purse or Christmas Fund, and mail it today—along with those last-minute holiday greeting cards to:

Montgomery Improvement Association
530 South Union Street
Montgomery, Ala.

We make one more suggestion: certainly during the holiday season you will have guests at your house, or you'll go visiting others. We suggest you take a collection of Dollars for Freedom from your friends who may not have had this thought.

YOU WILL DO THIS, won't you? Right now? Before you buy another box of tinsel? We know you will—and so will we, each of us here. Let's make it a Merry Christmas all around, including that part of America Cedric Belfrage once called "South of God."

—THE GUARDIAN

THE MAIL BAG

Permanent Solution

CHICAGO, ILL.

The City Committee of Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago recognizes that the serious concern of the Jewish people for the welfare of Israel is its concern. It wants to see a free and independent Israel, free of the oil and cold-war intrigues, living in peace and harmony with its Arab neighbors.

It has become clear to us that the invasion of Egypt by Israel has brought no benefit to the Israeli people, but rather has intensified the danger of war. When Israel acted in concert with Britain and France, it opened itself to the charge of being a pawn in a criminal colonial attack against Egypt.

To say this, however, is not to say that Israel did not, and does not face tremendous problems which must be solved if Middle East peace is to be achieved. Eight years of border attacks, of refusal to recognize the right of Israel's existence by the Arab leadership, of blockade from use of the Suez Canal and other waterways, point to a need of a permanent solution in Arab-Israel relationships.

The City Committee of Jewish Cultural Clubs of Chicago endorses the U. S. Government's policy in supporting the UN resolution for an immediate cease-fire and the withdrawal of British, French and Israeli forces from Egypt.

It supports the UN action for immediate cease-fire as the alternative to war in the Middle East with its danger to mankind.

It sharply condemns the aggressive attack on Egypt by England and France and recognizes it as an attempt on their part to re-establish their power in the Middle East. This action threatens the world with another global conflict.

It further feels that the United Nations, with the fullest cooperation of the great powers, must bring about negotiations between Israel and the Arabs. Israel's right to existence must be secured. The sovereign right of Egypt to the Suez Canal, together with the right of passage by all nations including Israel, must be guaranteed by the UN.

Leo Berman, chairman
City Committee, Jewish
Cultural Clubs of Chicago

Sweet reason

MODESTO, CALIF.

Those people who are now horrified about the fact that the Soviet Union smashed an attempt to build a fascist-imperialist base in Hungary should direct some of their horror toward the Middle East and the truly horrifying spectacle of Britishers denying starving and ill people food and medicine. Even our very good friend, Belfrage, writes about "Moscow's action shocking the world." It is not clear to me why an attempt to destroy socialism in the world is not far more shocking to socialists than an action to save it. Or perhaps some think armed fascists can be conquered with sweet reason. Let us be realistic. . . .

I applaud the well meant idea of many people who now want a meeting of minds on the part of people on the Left, but any loosely constructed alliance devoid of scientific principles must come to nothing. I close by expressing an enthusiastic lack of interest in Rev. Clarence E. Duffy's proposal to start a "socialist" movement "based on other than Marxist ideas." As well start a voyage across an ocean without a compass.

Name Withheld

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

As a youth, everybody is a Communist. A year later you're a Socialist.. Two years later you're a Democrat; and then when you're through this hard-headed business of living, you're a Republican.

Arthur Agostini, Milwaukee Republican leader, quoted in the Milwaukee **Journal** Sept. 25.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: K. S., Milwaukee. Be sure to include original clipping (and date) of each entry.

No rationalization

WESTFIELD, MASS.

There is no excuse for Soviet aggression. If we want all foreign troops to leave all countries everywhere, then the supposedly most advanced power in the world must show the way. The Western attack on Egypt is expected of them. They are acting in keeping with their degenerate nature. But a "socialist" Russia is not supposed to perpetrate armed force against smaller countries on its borders. This only reveals that the USSR is a powerful but still backward country and is still far from Socialism. No rationalization can hide the spilled blood of the Hungarian workers.

Five Socialist Youth

Which to believe?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

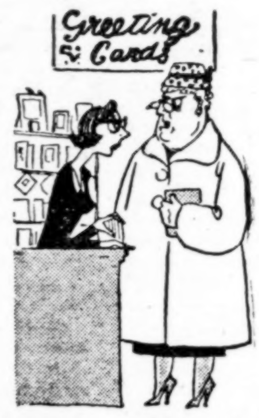
In our general appraisal of the Hungarian situation, I am deeply disturbed by the many half-truths and insinuations used. For instance, the French intellectuals, when confronted with the reproach that they believed the bourgeois press and the government radio without waiting to verify such doubtful sources of information, came back with the answer that they could find no valid explanation in their own party press, nor the frank explanation that had been promised in the Khrushchev report.

Judging from this answer, obviously there had been explanations of the event in the French Communist press. Such explanation also had been made more than once in the UN by the delegates of Hungary and the Soviet Union. Therefore, there can not be any valid claim that such explanations were unavailable.

The important fact was that these intellectuals did not consider these explanations as either valid or frank, and they chose to give the benefit of the doubt to the capitalist press. To them, the statements proclaimed to the whole world from the rostrum of the UN by the Hungarian and Soviet representatives were less than candid and straightforward. But the fabrications and slanders originating from the Hungarian counter-revolutionists and Radio Free Europe carried the absolute truth.

Is it an accident that during all these appraisals of agony, the most rabid cold-war artists and Soviet-baiters were using similar logic and argument? They maintained that, since the new Hungarian government refused to accept UN observers, then their charges of mass deportation and genocide must be true. This recalled to me at once the premise that McCarthy used in his persecution of those seeking protection under the Fifth Amendment.

Another prevailing argument among the Left is that the present leaders of the Soviet Union have been associates of Stalin, therefore neither their judgment nor their action can be trusted. Isn't this carrying the principle of "guilt by association" to the extreme?



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"And now I want some for sending to the States, with plenty of holly and not too much about good will!"

These Soviet leaders were the ones who exposed Stalin's evil doing. Never in human history has a group in power made such self-criticism so frankly and unreservedly. Here is the best example of the high moral foundation of the socialist system. These Soviet leaders and the Soviet people deserve the highest of praise, that after such exposures they did not stampede into confusion and defeatism, but closed their ranks and took determined steps to eradicate these wrongs.

Critics and so-called progressives of the West are mostly troubled by one consideration: that is, how are they going to explain this and come out of it without too much injury. It is easy to be a fellow-traveller on a course that is straight and praiseworthy. But, when there is a reverse in such a path, they all start to look for a hiding place. The ship of socialism is far from sinking, but, if the rats believe so, they are welcome to jump.

M. Chang

Bifocal

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In Hungary stalked
The cloven-hooved beast
But in Egypt—Hallelujah!
'Twas a Gospel Feast.

L. G.

Export model?

NEW YORK, N. Y.

By this date, people's minds are closed on Hungary. They are on one side or the other, and will not change until the archives are opened, probably years hence. This fight is beclouding the fact that in Poland there is something entirely new: a socialism that can be sold to Americans.

Poland has a questioning Parliament, an outspoken press, fair trials, independent trade unions, academic freedom to a significant degree, a good deal of intellectual liberty, the beginning of independence in foreign policy, and co-existence between Church and State in a Catholic country. This is combined with principled denunciation of anti-Semitism, friendship with the USSR and national unity behind a leader who heads a united socialist party and is an industrial worker to boot. All this rests on the secure foundation of socialization of the basic means of production.

For socialism's sake, let's stop scrapping over Hungary and unite to propagate the Polish proof that there can really be, and is, such a thing as democratic socialism.

William Mandel

Disarm, you!

E. PEPPERELL, MASS.

The recent events in Hungary are enough to give us all the horrors. A system most of us have thought, while still far from perfect, must be a great deal superior to our own dog-eat-dog confusion, has revealed itself to be, at best, no better than our own.

There must have been some truth in the good reports we heard from that area, just as we now know there was plenty of truth in the bad reports. Perhaps their single greatest mistake is in the immense size of their army. No wonder their people are hard-up, lacking in dairy products, etc. Instead of talking about volunteers for Egypt they might well talk about volunteers for bigger and better farms! For years we have swallowed the narcotic that they needed their arms in the face of the very real capitalist encirclement. But I wonder! Let them throw away their arms, be truly consistent in their appeals for peace, and no nation in the world will dare touch them! Their present methods show a monstrous lack of faith in their own ideas.

Al Amery

[For a philosophical defense of unilateral disarmament, see Nov. **Liberation**, 30c a copy, $3 a year, 110 Christopher St., N.Y. 14, N. Y.—Ed.]

Give This Paper To A Friend

CAN KADAR BE A GOMULKA?

Hungarians back at work but still mistrust regime

AN UNEASY, tentative peace settled over Hungary last week. The strikes had ended in the cities and in the countryside, according to an **AP** dispatch from Vienna, armed bands were "not fighting, just hiding."

Here and there violence had broken out during and after the successful 48-hour strike that followed the government's order to dissolve the Workers Councils and the arrest of some Council leaders. The strike had been nationwide and about 80% effective. The Councils seemed to have successfully defied the dissolution order and were reported functioning. What fighting there was during the 48 hours was mainly among Hungarians. Soviet troops, though plainly in evidence, played the role of reserves and took little part.

CRISIS OF CONFIDENCE: The crisis now seemed to be not a military one or even a political one, in terms of policy and program. It was a crisis of confidence. Could the regime of Premier Janos Kadar regain the trust of the workers movement?

Sam Russell, Budapest correspondent of the London **Daily Worker**, wrote on Dec. 14 that there was now general acceptance that the country must go back to work before the workers' demands can possibly be met. He added, though: "But the nervousness and mistrust was still there."

Though the Workers Council at the massive Csepel works in Budapest had opposed the 48-hour strike, they plainly had no more confidence in the Soviets and Kadar than had the strikers. When Russell visited the Csepel Council, the chairman had just left to see the local Soviet commander who had demanded a list of Council members. Russell wrote: "Some of the people in the room were already saying gloomily that they would all be arrested and deported to the Soviet Union, and were even saying that it was unlikely they would see their chairman again. While we were talking the chairman returned, and as he took his coat off, said with a laugh: 'The devil is never as black as he is painted,' and assured his colleagues that their fears were unfounded."

EASY FOR AN IDIOT: Speaking of the 12-year past which any new regime would have to live down, the chairman of another Workers' Council cited a Hungarian proverb: "It is easier for one idiot to roll a heavy stone into the Danube than for 13 sensible people to get it out again."

Some observers thought that Janos Kadar was not the puppet caricatured in the Western press but one of the "sensible people" who would ultimately help to redeem Hungary from its tragic first decade under socialism. Sergio Perucchi, writing from Budapest in **Vie Nuove**, pro-communist Italian weekly, quoted Kadar: "We are communists and we have no reason to deny our beliefs, but the regime which in recent years governed Hungary represented nobody. It was a police state which ignored the problems of the country."

Perucchi said that while Imre Nagy was the man who stood for the fight against the economic absurdities of the Rakosi regime, Kadar was thought of as the "popular spirit" of the CP. He found Kadar completely in sympathy with the students and young people who were fighting for a "democratic socialism" which Perucchi still expects "will come out of the tragedy of Budapest."

UNHAPPY RUSSIANS: **Vie Nuove** found that the Russians didn't like their job in Budapest. A 23-year-old lieutenant pointed to a house: "I almost met my death there at the hands of a man I considered my friend, but I am certain that—if we survive—we will yet be friends."

ALL QUIET ALONG THE DANUBE

A Russian lieutenant said: "We'll all be friends—if we survive."

AP foresaw a "Polish-type" solution for Hungary, with the Smallholders and Peasant Parties joining a coalition government headed by the Socialist Workers (Communist), installing most of the liberal reforms of the Gomulka regime in Warsaw. It would be the identical program granted by Premier Imre Nagy before the bloodshed.

The most authoritative estimate of what the bloodshed cost Hungary was given by India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru whose Moscow ambassador has been in and out of Budapest repeatedly throughout the trouble. Nehru reckoned some 25,000 Hungarians and 7,000 Russians had been killed. Though he said there were "outside elements" involved in the uprising, it was essentially "a national movement in which the great majority of the workers, industrial workers and students took part . . . That is the basic fact." The present atmosphere of Budapest, with the guns just about quiet at last, Nehru said "was reminiscent of civil disobedience days in India."

FOREIGN TROOPS: Nehru, on the eve of his visit to the U.S., said the trouble lay in the presence of foreign troops in Europe. A solution would be nearer, he said, "if this element of foreign troops on both sides were removed." The Russians have declared their willingness to withdraw from the Warsaw Pact countries if the U. S. withdraws from the NATO bases.

Throughout the crisis India has opposed bitter, impassioned and unconstructive resolutions drafted in cold-war language, insisting instead on specific remedies looking to an easing of tensions that might permit the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops without fear of attack. In the UN India has proposed direct negotiations in Moscow and Budapest by Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold. Walter Lippmann in the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** (12/13) came to similar conclusions:

"A policy which rests wholly, or even principally, on the alternatives of military force and moral force is like a stool which has only two legs. It will not stand up. The third and missing leg is to have negotiable proposals . . . The whole situation needs to be brought under control, brought into a manageable perspective, and this can only be done if someone—perhaps in a mission by the Secy. General of the UN to Moscow—there are set going diplomatic negotiations dealing with a system of European security."

CHANGES IN WASHINGTON? There were signs in Washington that a fundamental reappraisal might be under way. Inspired leaks to the press spoke of new disarmament proposals in the works that might reduce U.S. troop strength in Europe and elsewhere, and end nuclear weapons testing. Though NATO countries were quickly cautioned that the U.S. was not contemplating anything like a complete withdrawal, there was clearly some rethinking afoot. The visit of Nehru to Washington and the reported invitation to Tito to follow suit added to the hopes.

But up to last week the only diplomatic stroke of the Administration—aside from admitting refugees—was to dispatch Vice President Nixon to Austria. He was to observe and report to the President on what aid was required. Austrian officials reportedly urged Nixon to confine himself to conferences and banquets and stay away from the border. The step seemed likely to be significant more for Nixon's future than for any world developments.

BEVAN AND A BISHOP JOIN UP

National British conference: 'Liberate Robeson'

MANCHESTER, ENGLAND

DELEGATES REPRESENTING several million British trade unionists, Co-Operators and Labour Party members gathered in the Free Trade Hall here this month for a Natl. Paul Robeson Conference, and passed a unanimous resolution "to invite Robeson to sing in Britain and request the American Government to allow him to come." The all-day conference heard and discussed numerous proposals for bringing about in 1957 the liberation of the singer, now denied a passport.

Speakers suggested that at a time when certain Tories are trying to stir up anti-U.S. sentiment in connection with the Suez fiasco, the conference was an expression of the best pro-U.S. sentiment—Robeson being the American most broadly known, respected and loved in England.

Representing many political shades from Liberal to Left, the conference expressed wholehearted approval of the Natl. Robeson Committee's non-political approach. A broadened committee was proposed and partially elected from delegates present, to include a representative of each of the 130-odd organizations now supporting the campaign.

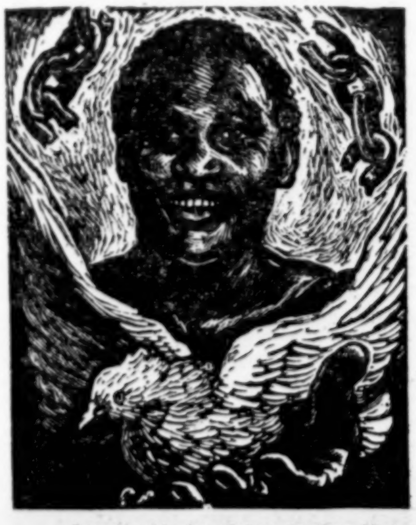
TOP SPONSORS: Will Griffiths, Manchester MP who has devoted himself to civil liberties issues, especially those involving the right to travel, was elected chairman. Aneurin Bevan and the Bishop of Birmingham were announced among new additions to the sponsoring council, which already includes 13 MP's and five members of the Labour Party natl. executive. Activities agreed on for the new year included Robeson concerts in many cities, an extended petition drive, and mass sale of Robeson records put out by the committee and of Mrs. Eslanda Robeson's new pamphlet, **Paul Robeson Goes to Washington.**

The Rhondda Valley coal-miners' choir of 60, champions of this year's Welsh Eisteddfod choral competition, arrived in two busloads to sing at the delegates' reception, the conference, and the public "Robeson Festival" Sunday night from which hundreds were turned away. For many of the miners this meant the loss of two days' work. The Festival included showing of the Robeson movie filmed in Wales, **Proud Valley,** and songs and an address by Robeson specially recorded for the occasion.

DIRECT QUESTION: Dr. I. W. Slotki, leader for half a century of Manchester's Jewish community, spoke on "freedom of music" which he called even more important than free speech, since it was a universal language which could "drive away the evil spirits of the world." Roland Casasola, president of the Foundry Workers Union and member of the Labour Party executive, recalled appreciatively Eisenhower's speech at the time when the U.S. President-to-be was given the Freedom of the City of London. "Never underestimate the power of the moral judgment of the world," Casasola quoted Ike; "I believe in equality before the law and the liberty of every man to speak and act as he sees fit." Said Casasola: "Ike, if you believe that, why don't you grant Paul Robeson a passport immediately?"

Musicians Union delegate Hobson said it was deplorable that Britain could not hear Robeson's "God-given" voice while U.S. artists of dubious talent kept streaming across the Atlantic, contributing little to Anglo-U.S. friendship. Delegate Hutchinson of the political committee of the London Co-Operative Society—the largest Co-Op group in the world—said that over a million members of his organization wanted Robeson to sing at their annual Co-Operators' Day concert in London, and would continue to insist on his appearance there.

Outside the hall the Socialist Workers Fedn. distributed leaflets supporting the Robeson Committee's demands but also demanding the release of Len Wincott, "British sailor and working-class fighter [who] is in a Russian jail." Wincott, a leader of the British Navy mutiny against pay cuts at Invergordon in 1931, "disappeared" after the British CP sent him to the U.S.S.R. in 1934, according to the leaflet.



Leopoldo Mendez, Taller Grafica, Mexico

PAUL ROBESON

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

Discussions begun on possible 'regroupment' of American Left

THIRTY-FIVE MEN AND WOMEN including trade unionists, editors of periodicals, economists, independent socialists, radical pacifists, members of the Socialist Party and a number of other radical groups met in New York on Dec. 8 and 9. Another 15 or more from various parts of the country sent word that they were intensely interested and regretted inability to attend.

The participants in the discussion were there as individuals in response to a personal invitation from A. J. Muste, who has a long record of activity in labor and peace movements and is an editor of the independent monthly magazine **Liberation.**

In issuing his invitation Mr. Muste wrote: "We are in a new age. The problems of that age need to be stated, not to mention resolved. It seems elementary that this could not be done if each group continued to live to itself and regard itself as the True Church, possessed of the true and authentic revelation to which others needed only to adhere or be damned. It would be a healthy thing if discussion which transcended the traditional high and hard walls could be resumed."

FRANK TALK: Mr. Muste observed that the invasion of Egypt and especially the tragic events in Hungary tended to make "any kind of political gathering, except of like-minded people for the purpose of expressing emotions, very difficult, seemingly absurd. It is equally true," he added, "that precisely these developments make serious discussion among people who do not start from the same point imperative."

The discussions on Dec. 8-9 on such questions as the meaning of events in Hungary, the economic and political outlook in the United States, and the possibilities of "socialist regroupment" or a "new Left", were frank and hard hitting. At the same time there was evident a recognition that no one had all the answers and that a fresh start needed to be made in "a spirit of fraternity and with an emphasis on the humanistic aims of socialism which have too often been lacking in recent years."

The meeting was called on the basis that no action would be taken or organization set up, and there was no disposition to think a radical movement or party relevant to the American situation could be organized over night.

TO CONTINUE: There was, however, unanimous and enthusiastic agreement that such discussions as this should be organized in other places and Mr. Muste was asked to carry forward his efforts along this line. There was also general agreement that in view of the vigorous and open discussion under way in the Communist Party and the considerable departure of a number of CP members from their former stands, some CP members might well be included in subsequent discussions.

A number of suggestions for providing a tentative structure for the educational process were made, such as a discussion bulletin open to varied points of view; a pamphlet for discussion purposes; the organization of local discussion groups and perhaps in one or two places a school or institute for socialist studies. It was agreed that the utmost effort to include all elements in the discussion process should be made and premature crystallization avoided.

Un-Americans

(Continued from Page 1)

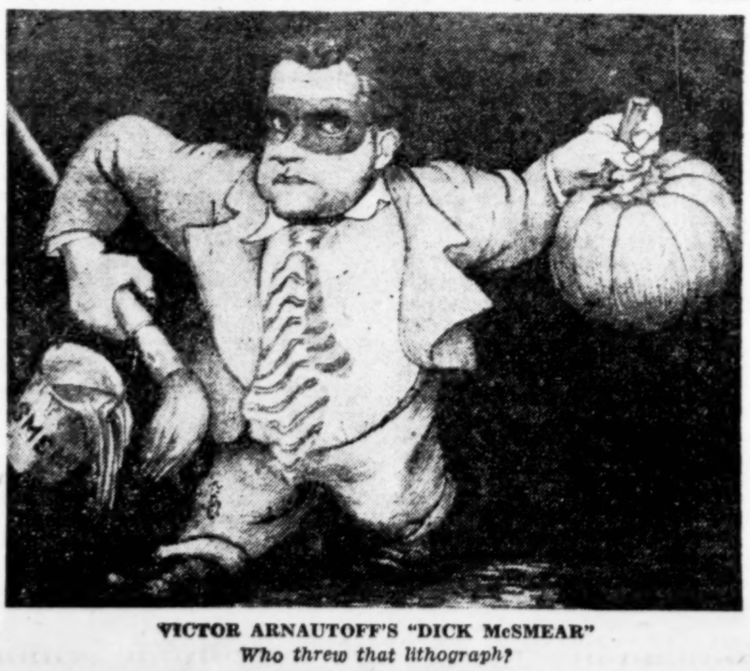
his politics. Rep. Harold Velde (R-Ill.) proposed denaturalization for Arnautoff.

Against Holland Roberts' professional calm, Arens blew several gaskets. Feingold's business, importing Soviet books, toys and records was made to order to highlight the Committee's attack on the influx of "propaganda" from socialist lands. Earlier a customs official testified that San Francisco has been one of the most active ports of entry for such material. He estimated that 90% of written material from socialist countries would be cut off if required to be labeled "subversive propaganda."

"Fine," said Doyle, sometimes counted as a California liberal. "After all, we want to cut it off." But there even Velde disagreed, stating that not all of this material should be excluded.

Later in the San Francisco hearing, Arens made public his discovery that 82% of diplomatic personnel from Communist countries were Communists. The committee agreed with him that all should be ordered to register as foreign agents.

NOTHING NEW: The subcommittee wound up its tour in Seattle Dec. 13-14. Witnesses had been summoned from Portland, North Bend and Astoria, Oregon, as well as from Washington. At least two witnesses—Julia Ruuttila of Astoria and Louise Hatten of Seattle—declined to answer Committee questions under the Fifth Amendment. Both have been active in protection of foreign born and Mrs. Ruuttila, a free-lance writer, recently published nationally an exposé of U.S. treatment of foreign born, entitled "America's Step-Children."



VICTOR ARNAUTOFF'S "DICK McSMEAR"
Who threw that lithograph?

COMMITTEE ARM-BREAKERS
Attorney John Porter gets the hustle

The month of hearings produced no new testimony and only one possible contempt victim, Frank Wilkerson of Los Angeles, only witness to use the First Amendment exclusively in defying the committee. However, committeee counsel Arens is certain to be a key figure in the fight to retain and perhaps toughen the McCarran-Walter immigration law in the next Congress. Adviser to both Sen. Eastland and Rep. Francis E. Walter, co-author of the McCarran-Walter law, Arens is also known as one of the drafters of the McCarran Subversive Activities Control Act and of the 1948 fore-runner of the McCarran-Walter law, introduced in that year by Sen. Revercomb of West Virginia. In the past Congress he served both the Walter and Eastland Committees as adviser on legislation affecting the foreign-born.

CONTROVERSIAL: Saturday, Dec. 15, was the 165th anniversary of the ratification of the Bill of Rights as the first Ten Amendments to the Constitution of the United States. In commemoration, the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in New York City tried to buy radio time for Dr. J. Raymond Walsh to speak on the state of constitutional rights in present-day America. Only WINS would sell the time—if it approved the script. Upon reading it, WINS found Dr. Walsh's address, which dealt largely with recent Supreme Court handling of Smith and McCarran Act prosecutions, to be "controversial" and cancelled the broadcast.

In his script Dr. Walsh concluded:

"The Supreme Court has started a process that may become decisive in rebuilding the Bill of Rights. They have finally accepted many cases from which they have hitherto shied. They have openly struck out at the informer. There is more than a little evidence that the guilt-by-association doctrine will receive their full appraisal. Each step of this kind taken by the Court will provide the opportunity for Americans to follow and ultimately lead in the invigoration of our civil liberties. We just may be on the threshold of a great movement to renew the Bill of Rights at its source. Nothing could more profoundly contribute to our national security. For a nation's security is dependent in the last analysis on citizens who are free."

Recordings of Dr. Walsh's address (LP, 33 1/3 rpm) may be obtained free on loan from ECLC, 421 Seventh Ave., New York 1. A $5 deposit is required.

UPS AND DOWNS: Traditional liberty had its ups and downs elsewhere in the country, too:

- In Los Angeles the government chose not to appeal a ruling Sept. 21 by Judge Westover throwing out a denaturalization case against Rose Chernin Kusnitz, director of the L. A. Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.
- A University of Pennsylvania student, Bernard Deutch, was found guilty of contempt of Congress for refusing under the First Amendment to name persons he allegedly knew to be Communists before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1954.
- A Federal Grand Jury indicted six persons for invoking rights other than the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer questions of the Senate Internal Security sub-committee headed by James O. Eastland (D-Miss.). Four were New York City newspapermen who defied Eastland a year ago during his committee's inquisition into the N.Y. press, aimed principally at the **N. Y. Times.** Three of the newspapermen were (and still are) **N. Y. Times** copy editors: Alden Whitman, Robert Shelton and Seymour Peck. The fourth was William A. Price, reporter, fired by the **N. Y. Daily News** for defying the Committee.

Others indicted were librarian Mary Knowles of Plymouth Meeting, Pa., and Herman Liveright, former TV programmer for WDSU, New Orleans. Miss Knowles' defiance of the Committee is the subject of the film **Storm Center**, in which she is portrayed by Bette Davis.

- The Supreme Court ruled that the National Labor Relations Board had no right, in a 1954 case involving the Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers' Union, to disqualify a union because of alleged falsity in Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits filed by its officials. The ruling was hailed by the union as "a complete answer to the recent indictment in Denver of 14 officers and staff members of the union for 'conspiring' to comply with the filing requirements of the Taft-Hartley Law." Within hours of the indictments Nov. 16, Mine-Mill locals all over the country had subscribed almost all the $65,000 bail money required to free the indicted men.
- In other Taft-Hartley proceedings, the appeal of Hugh Bryson, president of the now disbanded Marine Cooks & Stewards Union, from conviction for filing a false T-H affidavit was headed for the Supreme Court after being turned down by the Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco. In Chicago John J. Killian, former United Electrical Workers Union official, was convicted of filing a false T-H affidavit.
- In Brooklyn, UE organizing director James J. Matles was sentenced to three months in jail for contempt for refusing to be sworn in by a U. S. Attorney seeking a disposition in an Immigration Dept. attempt to have Matles denaturalized. Rumanian-born Matles has weathered four years of attack on his citizenship similar to the government's 15-year denaturalization campaign against West Coast longshore leader Harry Bridges. Matles' 3-month sentence was stayed pending appeal.
- Former Philadelphia school teacher Mrs. Goldie Watson was fined $1,000 and given a suspended jail sentence for invoking the First Amendment before the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1954. She is free on bail pending an appeal.
- In Illinois the State Supreme Court upheld the Broyles loyalty-oath law passed in 1955, forbidding payment of wages to State and other public employes who refuse to sign a non-communist oath. The appeal was taken by three Chicago teachers who have served without pay during consideration of the appeal.
- In Pennsylvania (where defense counsel Thomas D. McBride in the Philadelphia Smith Act cases has just been appointed State Attorney-General by Gov. Leader), retrial of the Pittsburgh Smith Act cases whose convictions were recently thrown out by the Supreme Court has been set to start Jan. 7.
- Oral argument will be heard the week of Jan. 7 in the appeal of the five Connecticut Smith Act victims. Attorneys George Lowman of Stamford, Prof. Thomas Emerson of Yale Law School and Frank Donner of New York will argue that the defendants were illegally denied the right to waive a jury trial, among other points.

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KIDNAPPING AND PERJURY CHARGED

Sobell acquittal or new trial urged in defense brief

ATTORNEYS FOR Morton Sobell, now in Alcatraz serving a 30-year sentence for alleged complicity with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in an atomic espionage conspiracy, asked the U. S. Court of Appeals Dec. 12 to direct his acquittal or grant him a hearing for a new trial. The brief asked the Court in any case to reverse the ruling of Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman last June denying Sobell a hearing on new evidence believed to warrant a new trial.

Sobell's appeal, presented on two motions argued in a brief totalling 160 printed pages, sets forth new evidence to prove that Sobell was not deported but kidnapped from Mexico in 1950 to stand trial with the Rosenbergs; that the prosecution falsely and knowingly represented to the Court and jury that he had been legally deported; that Sobell's removal from Mexico was in violation of the U. S. extradition treaty with Mexico and therefore grounds for vacating his conviction; and that Sobell himself had no way of being suspicious of, much less proving, these illegalities until years after his conviction.

The new appeal also reinforces arguments presented in Sobell's first appeal—which was denied with Judge Frank dissenting and refused review by the supreme Court—that his conviction resulted from the dubious testimony of Max Elitcher, "an admitted perjurer and, if believed, a co-conspirator who was testifying with obvious intent and motive." The remainder of the case against Sobell, the brief argues, "was limited to an attempt to establish his guilty consciousness by proving he had fled to Mexico."

THE KIDNAPPING: The Sobell family had gone on vacation to Mexico and had booked return passage when their apartment was entered by English-speaking men who identified themselves as Mexico D. F. policemen. Charging him with suspicion of being "Johnny Jones" wanted for bank robbery, they beat him unconscious and eventually delivered him to U. S. border authorities at Laredo, Tex. The manifest recording Sobell's return to the U. S. via Laredo was marked "Deported from Mexico" by an Immigration inspector at the scene.

MORTON SOBELL
Make it clean and sharp . . .

The appeal establishes that the prosecution had been notified by the Mexican government long before the Sobell trial that it did not "consent to or participate in" Sobell's removal. It points out further that an FBI agent named Lewis who was present when the Mexican consulate notified Laredo officials that Sobell had not been deported, sat at the counsel table throughout the trial while prosecutors Irving Saypol (now a N. Y. State Supreme Court Judge) and Roy Cohn assured judge and jury that Sobell had been legally deported.

PRECEDENTS: In rejecting Sobell's petition for a hearing on the new evidence last June, Judge Kaufman ignored all the new evidence presented and based his opinion on the belief planted at the original trial that Sobell had been excluded by the Mexican government. The extradition treaty between the U. S. and Mexico requires that requests go through diplomatic channels and limits the alleged offenses for which extradition will be granted.

According to two Supreme Court decisions cited by the Sobell attorneys, the entire proceeding against Sobell must be quashed if he was removed without due extradition procedure or in violation of the treaty in any manner. One decision affirming this vacated the conviction of a fugitive extradited for one offense and tried for another not covered by the treaty involved. Another, the confiscation of a British merchant ship, the **Mazel Tov**, captured as a rum-runner, was reversed in a decision rendered by Judge Brandeis because the ship was captured in violation of a technical provision in a treaty between the U. S. and Britain.

Kaufman in rejecting the **Mazel Tov** precedent, relied on a 70-year old case in which the Court affirmed the conviction of a man brought back from Peru allegedly in violation of the extradition treaty. The Sobell appeal shows Kaufman's citation in error in several respects, the principal one being that a **de facto** government composed of Chilean armed forces occupied Peru at the time, and consented to the removal.

'POISONED RESERVOIR': In pressing for a hearing on the new evidence, if not an outright directed acquittal, the new appeal cites with vigor the request of the U. S. Solicitor-General this Fall to the Supreme Court to return the appeal of the Pittsburgh Smith Act victims to the lower courts because of doubts concerning the veracity of Joseph Mazzei, chief government witness against two of the defendants. In this instance the Supreme Court went beyond the government's request and vacated the original convictions with the statement by Chief Justice Warren that the prosecution had "poisoned the water in this reservoir, and the reservoir cannot be cleaned without first draining it of all impurity. . . ."

In the event of a decision granting a hearing, the appeal requests the Court to mandate Sobell's presence at the proceeding. Several precedents are cited, with the reminder to the Court that "appellant is presently incarcerated in Alcatraz Penitentiary, thousands of miles from the site of the hearing. . . . The time, expense and difficulty involved in communication with or journeys to appellant to prepare for the hearing would be so burdensome as to deprive him and his counsel of the essential consultation required."

The Sobell appeal was filed by attorneys Frank Donner, Arthur Kinoy and Marshall Perlin of New York; Benjamin Dreyfus of San Francisco and Luis Sanchez Ponton, professor of law at the University of Mexico, and former Minister of Education. The government has 20 days in which to file its answer. Sobell is entitled to submit a reply brief to the government's answer before argument is heard. The date for argument, probably before a three-judge Appeals Court panel, has not been set but will probably be in late January or February.

THE ILLEGAL SEIZURE

Suppression of evidence cited

Excerpts from the Sobell defense brief summing up the charge that Sobell was illegally seized in Mexico and unlawfully tried:

The present motion and supporting papers charge:

1. The prosecution knowingly, wilfully, and intentionally introduced false and perjured evidence to establish that appellant was deported by the Government of Mexico. The prosecution knew that appellant was not deported or otherwise ousted by the Government of Mexico or its agencies. The prosecution knew that appellant was removed without the knowledge or consent of the Mexican Government. It was the prosecution itself which had planned, directed and participated in the illegal seizure and abduction of appellant, using the services of its agents in the United States and Mexico.

The prosecution and the witness Huggins [U. S. Immigration inspector at Laredo who wrote "Deported from Mexico" on Sobell's manifest] long prior to the trial were informed by the Government of Mexico that it did not consent to or participate in appellant's removal. They had been advised by the Mexican authorities that appellant's seizure and abduction were unlawful and constituted a violation of Mexican sovereignty. Nevertheless, the prosecution used Government Exhibit 25A [a photostatic copy of the Sobell manifest] and Huggins' intentionally false and misleading testimony to prove that appellant's removal was effectuated by the Government of Mexico by means of a legal deportation.

2. The prosecution knowingly, wilfully and intentionally suppressed evidence which would have impeached this false testimony and would have disclosed its knowledge of the falsity of the evidence. It suppressed the fact that appellant was abducted by its agents without the knowledge or consent of the Mexican Government. Finally, it suppressed the fact that Huggins had been advised long prior to the trial that the notation "Deported from Mexico" on Government Exhibit 25A was false. The prosecution was impelled to suppress this evidence in order to enjoy the fruits of its illegal action, which otherwise would have been inadmissible.

3. Further, the prosecution, seeking to preclude a judicial inquiry into the facts, made false representations to the trial court. In opposition to the motion in arrest of judgment [at the conclusion of the trial, in 1951, charging illegal removal from Mexico] the prosecution falsely represented that appellant was deported by the Mexican authorities. It attacked the truthfulness of appellant's affidavit in support of the motion in arrest of judgment which might have opened Pandora's box and led to the disclosure of the prosecution's illegal activities.

In its brief to this Court, the prosecution perpetuated the fraud of lawful deportation. It continued to suppress the fact and indeed denied that it was a party to appellant's illegal seizure.

5 THANKSGIVINGS ON ALCATRAZ

Sobell is confident of victory

By Helen Sobell

"IT MUST BE CLEAN and sharp and unequivocal," Morton had written to me about the brief that was going to the Appeals Court, "so that they will not be able to slide out, or around or under." And as the boat taking me to Alcatraz swung around to the island the day before the fifth Thanksgiving which Morton was to spend there, I thought of his words. Morton is like that. A scientist, clean and sharp and unequivocal, and he wants everything to be that way. "All that is good and promising in my country I can still fight for, and I want to," he has told me many times.

The window seemed smaller than ever, the telephone more static-ridden, yet we didn't care about that. For a few brief minutes we could talk to each other. Mort told me about his conference with the attorneys the previous week. Marshall Perlin had made the trip all the way across the country to go over the final revisions on the brief and with him for the discussion had come Benjamin Dreyfus who is our attorney in San Francisco. "It's a good brief, Helen," Morton had told me. "It's good in itself and it shows the fraud and the perjury so well that it must bring up the question of how dirty the rest of the trial was."

WITH YOUR HELP: I told Morton in that visit and the next two on Nov. 30 and Dec. 1 of the Thanksgiving dinner which Warren Billings had asked me to attend at his home. Warren and Josephine were there with all of their friends and neighbors and the first toast was to the "freedom of Morton Sobell much, much sooner than I received my own with Tom Mooney." In that living room in San Mateo we all shared our Thanksgiving dinner with Morton, and added words and thought and money to the fight for Morton's kind of America.

In San Francisco, too, and in Los Angeles, we had many gatherings. I told Morton of each one of them, and of our friends who work day and night because they don't want a single minute more to be added to the six and a half years Morton has already spent in prison.

I asked Morton, who has always given so much to his work as a scientist, how his work of folding sheets in the laundry was going, and he said to me, "If I thought I was going to be here much longer it would bother me, but you know, I expect to be in New York for the hearing in February."

With your help he can be, and he will be.

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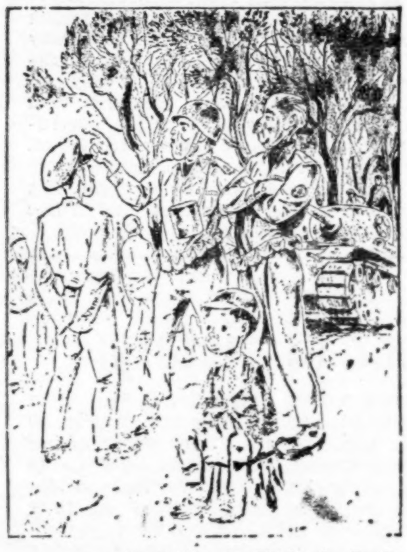
PEACE WONDERFUL—WHILE IT LASTS

Clinton quiet, but other trouble spots brew throughout the South

NEWS ITEM: EIGHT KIDS GO TO SCHOOL
All quiet and integrated (for now) at Clinton High

CLINTON, TENN., was quiet last week. This high school, which had been the battleground between segregation and integration forces since the term opened, was functioning with eight Negro children attending peacefully along with 700 whites.

Sixteen rabble-rousing segregationists were free on bail pending trial Jan. 28 and in the meantime were refraining from running counter to angry Judge Robert Taylor who has threatened jail instead of bail for any who continued to interfere with the school. The "whites-only" buttons of the White Tennessee Youth, high school auxiliary of the White Citizens Council, were not in evidence and no teachers or students were being pushed around.



Harrington in Pittsburgh Courier

"General Blotchit, you take your tanks and feint at Lynchville. General Pannick, you move into the county seat. And then in the confusion, my infantry will try to take little Luther to school!"

BETWEEN ROUNDS: But Clinton was uneasy. The next round would come with the trial of the segregationists and there was evidence that all the forces of jim-crow in the South would be thrown into this state to defend the segregationists against the first efforts of the Federal government to suppress them.

All 16 have asked for a jury trial. The jury would almost undoubtedly be all white and drawn from a panel similar to that which acquitted WCC chairman John Kasper of sedition charges. That acquittal touched off the violence which drove the Negro children from the school. A similar acquittal next month could cause another explosion. Kasper, himself, was appealing a one-year sentence for contempt of court.

PROUD BUT TIRED: On Foley Hill, where most of Clinton's Negroes live, there was an air of quiet victory, but some residents in talking to the **Afro-American's** reporter added a reservation: "But we still have to live here. And many of these people [the whites] have been our friends—or at least we thought so—until this came."

There was pride in the boys and girls who kept going back to the high school when it required National Guard guns to protect them and later when their classmates made life miserable. But there was exhaustion too. The family of one of the embattled children, Jo-Anne Allen, was preparing to move to Los Angeles. Mrs. Allen told **Afro's** Sam Yette: "I just want to get away from this mess." It wasn't only that, though. She was tired of being restricted to "maid work" and said that if her husband had a decent job, "we might stick it out here."

JUSTICE AND GOLF: Elsewhere in the South freedom's battle took curious turns. In Greensboro, N.C., Judge W. H. S. Burgwyn sentenced six Negroes to 30 days each in jail for playing a few holes of golf on the Gillespie Park course last December. The course is on city property but leased to a private golf club. The six, found guilty by an all-white jury, had to listen to the Judge's lecture on the harm they had done to their race by playing the course "contrary to the wishes of those in possession." The six, assisted by NAACP attorneys, filed notice of an appeal.

At the same time in Charlotte, N.C., Judge Susie Sharp ordered the city-owned Bonnie Brae golf course open to Negro players. In response to a plea by 16 Negroes, she granted an injunction preventing the Parks and Recreation Commission from denying the Negroes access to the course.

FLOGGERS FREED: In Bushnell, Fla., Circuit Judge Truman O. Futch ordered a jury to acquit seven white men of the charge of flogging a Negro. The victim of the flogging, Jesse Woods, had been jailed in Wildwood for allegedly calling "Hello, Baby" to a white school teacher. He was released on bail but after being followed by a carload of white men, requested safe-keeping in jail again.

That night Woods was forcibly taken from his cell and badly beaten. Seven men were arrested. The prosecution produced three witnesses to the flogging and a confession by one of the accused. But midway in the trial the confession was tossed out by the judge after it was contended that the accused had not sufficient time to obtain legal advice.

The witnesses and the victim himself suddenly declined to identify any of the accused. State Attorney A. P. Buie said: "I have sworn testimony from witnesses who have come to this stand sufficient to make a prima facie case against these men. For some reason these witnesses have changed their stories. I cannot help it."

The judge then said there was insufficient evidence to convict and ordered the acquittal. The victim Woods was then ordered to stand trial Dec. 20 on a drunk-and-disorderly charge. Negroes, incensed, launched a boycott of white stores in Wildwoods.

NAACP FIGHTS BACK: The NAACP was fighting for its legal life in Southern courts. In Louisiana it was back in business again after the State Court of Appeals ruled invalid a lower court injunction banning all activities of the organization.

The ruling was based on a technicality: the State Court had ruled against the NAACP while the NAACP still had a plea of its own in the Federal Courts. The new ruling said that the State Court should have withheld any decision until the Federal courts had acted on the NAACP petition.

The legal wrangle gave the NAACP at least one month of unhampered activity. Then, if the Federal courts dispose of the NAACP motion, the State courts may again impose the ban.

CONTEMPT: In Georgia NAACP officials were being tried for contempt after allegedly refusing to produce books and financial records for State revenue agents. Answering the State's attempt to tax the NAACP out of business, the organization has contended it is a tax-exempt New York corporation.

NAACP attorneys early in the trial called on Superior Court Judge Durwood Pye to disqualify himself because of "repeated denunciations of the colored race." Judge Pye refused, though he admitted in court that he held "strong personal views on the mongrelization of the races." The lawyers also contended that Judge Pye by signing an order requiring the books and records, had already rendered "a final adjudication" which denied the NAACP the rights of due process.

Before his appointment to the bench Judge Pye had been exec. secy. of Georgia's Education Commission, set up by the State Assembly to work out means of evading the Supreme Court school desegregation ruling.

Midway in the trial Judge Pye ordered John H. Calhoun, head of Atlanta's **NAACP**, to jail for contempt. He was released after four hours when the organization agreed to let State revenue agents look at its books. Pye gave Calhoun a one year contempt sentence but suspended it "so long as he behaves."

WANTS THE NEW: NAACP attorneys went into Federal court in Richmond, Va., to seek an injunction against enforcement of seven laws recently passed by the State legislature. These would prevent the NAACP from raising money, advocating desegregation, hiring lawyers, encouraging people to make court tests or assisting persons suing the State of Virginia. The laws would also require a public listing of NAACP members in Virginia and public accounting of all money spent in the State.

Dr. Martin Luther King, after winding up the six-day "Institute on Non-Violence and Social Change" in Montgomery, Ala., went to Washington, D.C. At Howard Unviersity he said: "I have heard about the silver slippers and long white robes in Heaven, but I am more concerned about shoes for thousands of bare-foot children and millions of people who go to bed hungry at night . . . I know about the new Jerusalem, but I want to know about the new Washington, the new Montgomery and the new New York City."

L.A. RATE BOOST RAISES TWO ISSUES:

Develop public hydro power now, nationalize oil

By Reuben W. Borough
LOS ANGELES

THE IMMEDIATE NEED of huge public development of the nation's hydro-electric energy potential is disclosed in a statement by the Los Angeles Dept. of Water & Power justifying a 5.9% over-all electric rate increase recently made effective in this city.

After 12 successive rate reductions from 1927 to 1947, totaling $497,000,000 from 1927 to 1955, the Department, operating one of the most successful publicly-owned utilities in the country, has been compelled to reverse, for the time at least, its well established rate trend.

The explantion is of importance not only to the citizen owners of the municipally operated power enterprise but to the entire nation. Aside from general inflationary causes affecting desperately needed plant expansion in this growing metropolis, increasing operating costs have unavoidably taken toll. The two determining developments are:

- Production of electric power has shifted from cheap hydro generation (fall steam. In 1955-'56 steam generation, it is estimated, supplied 76 percent of the total need and hydro 24 percent. Fuel oil used by the city's plants more than doubled in price from 1953 to 1955 and was continuing upward even before the British and French imperiled the West's supply by their invasion of Egypt. Present cost to the Department is $2.50, recently advanced from $1.80.

- The increased percentage of oil consumption was necessitated not only by the growth of the city but by the contraction of the hydro supply. Boulder Dam power on the Colorado River has become increasingly less available to Los Angeles because other allottees of the power (among them insistent private power companies) are making increased use of their share of the energy, and the Colorado River Basin has been suffering from prolonged drought and low water conditions at impounding Lake Mead.

OIL RUNNING OUT: To these considerations should be added the fact (as Harvey O'Connor established in his monumental study, **The Empire of Oil**), that oils is the major fuel energy source in the nation and world today and that the known oil reserves of the nation and the world have only a little time to run—a generation and not much more, perhaps.

The above alarming conditions plainly call for action. Unless the American economy is so captive to special interests that it has lost its instinct and capacity for self-preservation, its legitimate spokesmen (leaving the terrible Reds entirely out of the picture) should organize and demand:

- Maximum development by federal, state and local governments of publicly-owned hydro-electric energy—four-fifths of the total national potential remain undeveloped, thanks to the private power companies and the corruption or social illiteracy of the dominant Republican and Democratic leaders. This power, when generated, should be "firmed up" by being made available for peak-period demand through over-all super-power transmission lines. (The over-worked excuse for oil-derived steam power is the peak-run period, both of day and season.)

- Nationalization of the rapacious and criminally wasteful oil industry and the rationing of its basic necessity. Oil must be made to last until we have found out how to turn to the sun or some other non-depletable energy source to serve the legitimate needs of man.

CARIBBEAN DICTATORS LEAD UNEASY LIVES

Haitians rout their strong-man; Cubans defy ultimatum

By Elmer Bendiner

WHILE Dr. Emilio Nuñez Portuondo, the Cuban delegate, led the UN in denouncing tyranny and the suppression of rebellion in Hungary, a group of his compatriots stood up in the visitors' gallery and in effect said: "Look homeward, angel." What they actually shouted was: "Down with Batista!", in reference to the Cuban dictator's current bloody effort to suppress his own rebels.

The Haitian delegate, who also sympathized with rebellion in Hungary, was similarly embarrassed as word came that his boss, Gen. Paul E. Magloire, had resigned as President, suspended the Constitution and imposed military rule as General of the Army until defeated by a general strike. Both flare-ups illuminated the instability of Caribbean dictators trying to hold the lid on simmering islands of poverty.

STUDENTS IN THE LEAD: In the spring of 1952 Gen. Fulgencio Batista shrewdly calculated that he was not likely to win the Presidential elections. He therefore turned up at Camp Columbia barracks and in one hour and 17 minutes made all elections unnecessary. He has since held power by buying, suppressing or dividing all opposition.

Though unions were purged of left-wing militants and replaced with Batista lieutenants, strikes have ravaged the sugar cane fields. The Popular Socialist Party (Communist) has been outlawed and its once powerful daily newspaper suppressed. The other opposition parties, the Autenticos and Ortodoxos, are hopelessly disunited. The Cuban pot has been kept boiling under Batista—mainly by the students. However, no Latin dictator underestimates the undergraduates. Some of the most formidable rebellions have begun with the students.

On July 26, 1953, an uprising at Santiago was crushed and 54 persons killed. The leader was a young student, Fidel Castro Ruz. In 1955 Castro was released under an amnesty that freed all rebels who had no taint of communism. Castro promptly embarrassed Batista just at the moment when the dictator was posing as a genial, if tough, benefactor of his people. He revealed that Batista's troops had quietly executed many of the student leaders. Then, charging threats to his life by government officials, Castro fled to Mexico.

CASTRO RETURNS: Since then Cuba has crackled with assassinations, riots, arrests, suppression of newspapers. Cubans who, up to Batista's 1952 coup, thought their country had emerged into orderly parliamentary democracy, though perhaps unduly saddled with graft, now saw a future of wild adventures and stern suppressions. The students kept up a ceaseless fire of demonstrations, and riot squads regularly raced to the University of Havana.

On Dec. 2 Fidel Castro returned to Cuba, reportedly in a small Mexican yacht. Some reports said there were 80 men in the landing in Oriente Province, uniformed, armed, calling themselves the July 26th Movement after the abortive uprising of 1953. The government promptly announced their defeat and imminent surrender. But the surrender announcements were renewed almost daily, followed by reports of fresh fighting. The rebels were bombed, strafed and reported starving.

They were reinforced by several hundred who joined up in Niquero Province. Troops were alerted all over the island. Estimates of the dead and wounded mounted daily. The rebels had only two demands: Batista's resignation and new elections. On Dec. 11 the government gave the rebels a 48-hour ultimatum to lay down their arms or face annihilation. At the same time Rolando Masferrer, chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, warned the nation to expect "an attack of large proportions" within a week.

At press time the ultimatum, having produced no surrender, was extended. Batista announced again that the rebels were crushed.

UNCAREFREE HAITI: The N.Y. **Times** (12/4) editorialized hopelessly on "The Violent Cubans" and a week later had another Caribbean comment on "Poor Haiti" in which it sympathized with "that attractive, carefree and unfortunate country."

Attractive, unfortunate Haiti hasn't been carefree in centuries. It would be hard to expect otherwise in a country where the average per capita income is $65 a year, where thousands must beg, where in good times the average citizen has but one meal a day plus a cup of coffee for breakfast and a mango for lunch, where only 100,000 out of a population of 3,500,000 can read and write.

Haiti, the oldest republic in Latin America, took for its ideology the more passionate proclamations of the French revolution, but for a century it was crushed economically by external forces and torn apart internally by struggle between a small Mulatto aristocracy and the vast mass of Negro peons. In 1915 while mobs were storming through the capital at Port-au-Prince in desperate revolt against an administration that had just massacred its political prisoners, the U.S. cruiser Washington steamed in. The Marines landed to restore order and stayed 20 years. They made and unmade Presidents, saw to it that the National City Bank replaced French capital.

WALL ST.
Watch Your Hat and Coat

They tactlessly instituted forced labor on highways in a country that prided itself as an outstanding example of a successful revolt from slavery. The Marine Officers' Club firmly barred the President of the Republic because he was a Mulatto and the Marines were then lily-white.

MAGLOIRE TAKES OVER: In 1934, after the Forbes Commission of Inquiry shed light on the harsher aspects of Haitian life, the Marines were removed, elections were authorized for Assembly and Senate, which in turn chose the President. After the troops left, U.S. investors remained solidly entrenched. Years of graft and suppression followed, aggravated by Haiti's tough neighbor on the Island of Hispaniola, Trujillo of the Dominican Republic, who massacred thousands of Haitians while buying off successive Haitian administrations.

In 1946 while Haitians were busy tossing out the corrupt administration of President Elie Lescot, strikes tied up the island. A military executive committee escorted Lescot to the airport where he and family took off for Canada. Strong man of the committee was Maj. Paul Magloire, a Negro but one of a military family that had been in the service of the Mulatto elite for generations.

Magloire remained in the saddle up to this month, part of the time ruling with a puppet president and part in his own right. To satisfy popular feeling, nationalist laws were passed restricting foreign holdings but the loopholes were big enough so that U.S. interests were scarcely affected.

THE DIVISION: William Krehm, former correspondent for **Time**, once wrote that anti-imperialism for the impoverished Negroes of Haiti is "a remote problem. Daily they bear the burdens of the parasitic elite and concentrate their resentment against it." The division that has wracked Haiti is not strictly racial however. The Haitian saying goes: "A poor Mulatto is a Negro."

In 1950, the first year the Haitians could vote directly for President, Magloire was elected after a campaign marked by free rum, fiestas, bribery and the suppression of dissenting editors. Since then Haiti has continued living meagerly on the coffee it ships to the U.S. and on U.S. tourists. Under Magloire the Haitian-American Sugar Co. operated a sugar mill, refinery, distillery, wharves, warehouses and railroads. Other U.S.-financed concerns mine bauxite and supply electric power to the cities. (Farmers do without it.) The situation worsened when hurricane Hazel devastated Haiti in 1955 and reduced 20,000 to virtual starvation. Droughts brought further suffering. And to compound Magloire's difficulties his grandiose scheme of a TVA producing power in the Artibonite Valley seemed to be foundering.

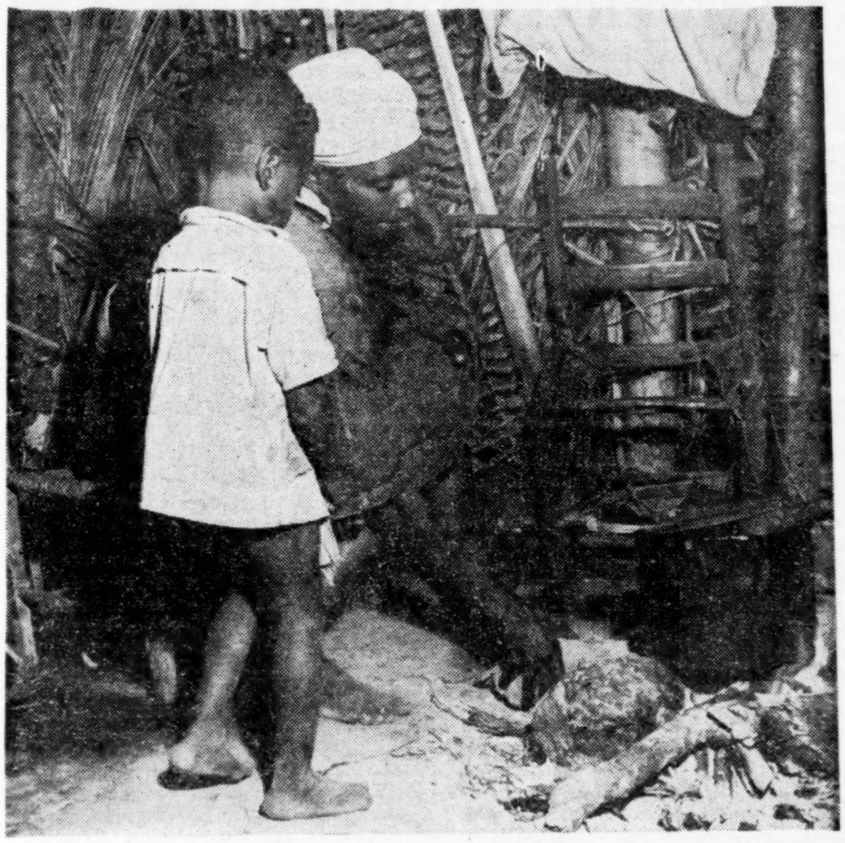
Bertrand Nossiter in the **Nation** (3/26/55) commented that "sophisticated Haitians believe Magloire will never build the generators which will compete with the U.S.-owned power company."

ARMY TAKES OVER: Magloire's term was to run until next Spring but opposition had already flared in newspapers whose editors were promptly jailed. Students, always a factor in Haitian upheavals, demonstrated. Here and there bombs were exploded, though some of these were said to have been planted by pro-Magloire provocateurs. On Nov. 29 Magloire stepped down as President and turned over power to the Supreme Court. Chief Justice Nemours Pierre-Louis asked whether the Court could count on the Army, still headed by Magloire. Magloire said ominously that the Army might have to take extraordinary measures.

The Court declined to govern under that threat and the Army took over, naming Magloire to "restore order." Anti-Magloire political leaders were quickly jailed. Strikes swept the island and tied up commerce. The General, himself, went to the market in Port-au-Prince and alternately pleaded and threatened shopkeepers to open up.

Recalling the 1946 strikes that provided the setting for his rise to power, Magloire took a leaf from that book. Disorders then had been calmed swiftly by the unfounded but widely circulated rumor that the U.S. Marines were coming back. Last week Magloire said his opposition stemmed from U.S. interests (hitherto not unfriendly to Magloire) and that he had taken over military control to prevent "what happened in 1915."

MAGLOIRE LEAVES: The resistance was passive but solid. Students and professionals had spread the word in typewritten leaflets circulated in chain-letter fashion, each copy asking the recipient to type and circulate ten more. The result shut the Island down tight. On Dec. 13 Magloire and family took a plane for Jamaica. Only when he was finally off the island did Haiti cut loose in a national celebration. Chief Justice Pierre-Louis, taking over as provisional President pending elections, promised liberty and democracy—just as Jean Jacques Dessalines had done 152 years ago.


United Nations photo

HAITI'S HEROES ARE BAREFOOT
Their passive resistance dumped a dictator

The two-week war

CHICAGO, Nov. 13 (UP)—H. Roe Bartle, Mayor of Kansas City, Mo., suggested today that all wars be fought by men over 55 because "that way, wars wouldn't last two weeks." Mr. Bartle, here to address the Illinois Agricultural Association, also proposed that every member of Congress be sent to the front lines if war breaks out.

N. Y. Times, Nov. 14

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A PROJECT INSPIRED BY THE UN

World delegates impressed by women's status in USSR

By Dora Russell

LONDON

IN LONDON last month five women representing different women's organizations in Britain reported on a seminar on the "Equality of Women in the U.S.S.R." which they recently attended in Moscow.

Under a resolution passed by the UN General Assembly in December, 1955, the UN is encouraging member states to promote studies and advice with a view to extending the field of Human Rights, under which the rights of women are included. In response to a letter from the UN Secy. General asking governments what they would do to implement this resolution, the Soviet government, at the meeting of the Commission on the Status of Women in Geneva last March, invited all government members of that commission, and all representatives of Non-Governmental Organizations in any way associated, to be its guests for a fortnight in the U.S.S.R. to acquaint themselves with the position of women in that country.

HESITATION: The invitation was timely, since certain of the government representatives at the Status of Women Commission have often expressed skepticism as to the rights and opportunities that Soviet women have attained. However, the old atmosphere of suspicion and hostility came into play and prevented those who would most have profited by it from enjoying this experience.

Some governments and organizations overcame their hesitations by being represented unofficially—notably the Women's Commission itself; others did not hesitate at all. UNESCO and WHO were there officially and also eight governments. Between 90 and 100 women were present from 38 countries, and among organizations represented were the Intl. Alliance of Women, Intl. Co-operative Women's Guild, Intl. Union for Child Welfare, Women's Intl. League for Peace & Freedom, Intl. Committee of the Red Cross, Intl. Bureau of Education, Fedn. of Japanese Women's Organizations, All-India Women's Conference, All-China Democratic Women's Fedn., Women's Intl. Democratic Fedn., various women's organizations from Iran, Syria, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Burma and Sudan. There were also national representatives from the Business & Professional Women's Assn. and the Fedn. of University Women.

APPLICATION: The first week was spent in Moscow, hearing a succession of reports from eminent Soviet women on political, civil and economic rights, health and social security, education, and women in the arts and sciences. Innumerable questions were put and exhaustively and patiently answered.

Each day's session was followed by opportunities for seeing the practical application of the information given in the reports. Thus the entire seminar was received at the Kremlin by representatives of the Supreme Soviet, to hear how the constitution worked and the part played by women at the highest levels of government. There was a similar meeting with the Moscow City Soviet and local soviets. We went to factories directed by women, to research laboratories directed and staffed by them; we saw couples getting married and women judges hearing applications for divorce.

Everywhere the recurrent question which was put, as to how women combined skilled and professional work with family responsibilities, was answered by visits to the schools, canteens and cultural centers which were invariably to be found at the factory enterprises. So far from women's work in the factory breaking up the home, it appeared that homey life had come to the factory. Indeed, without actually seeing it, it is difficult to understand fully the warm and home nature of this communal life in the U.S.S.R. Even those of us most concerned for the family as a unit, could not fail to be impressed by the happiness and well-being of the children and the parental feeling toward them which seemed common to all the men and women we met.

DOMINATION? The percentages of women in government and the professions give some idea of their status and influence. In the Supreme Soviet, women deputies amount to 25.8%, in the Moscow City Soviet 38.8%; 75% of teachers and doctors are women, one-half of the People's Judges are women.

An interesting fact emerged from discussions as to women's right to undertake heavy work. The present trend in the U.S.S.R. is to replace women by men on heavy labor—a policy contested during the seminar by some of the visiting feminists; but, since all the skilled and higher posts are open to women, if they care to study for them, it should appear that in time women may become the more dominant sex at the higher levels, thus obtaining not only equality but some degree of privilege in their employment.

So far, however, the Soviet women freely admitted, they have not yet achieved equality in numbers at the very highest levels as Ministers, Deputy Ministers, and in the diplomatic posts. None the less, numerically they are ahead of Western countries in this field. British women, for instance, obtained the vote in 1918, the same year in which Soviet women achieved full equality of opportunity, but in our Parliament today only 4% of the members are women.

EMANCIPATION: During the second week of the seminar, its members split into four groups, and, with nine planes at their disposal, traveled to various districts or republics, reassembling again for a brief holiday at Sochi, the Black Sea resort. In Uzbekistan, which I visited, —a country where at the time of the revolution women were still heavily veiled, unable to read or write, and given in marriage in their early teens—we found the same story of women in the government, at the head of ministries, working on equal terms with men in every sphere.

This seminar, the first to be inspired by the UN resolution, achieved certain very positive results. It afforded all those present the opportunity to meet with the Soviet women in all fields of work. These women, with their broad brows, their smoothly-parted hair, their neat and simple dress, were impressive in their dignity, their calm, and their maternal and womanly efficiency. It also brought about the interchange of knowledge and experience between women from the advanced countries and those in which the women had only just begun their struggle for full emancipation and education.

EMULATION? On journeys, over the lunch tables, women from the most diverse backgrounds talked incessantly, learning of the differences of law and custom, but finding amidst the diversity a common purpose. The benefit was entirely mutual, for though the older feminists had the experiences of some success, they in their turn felt the new attitude to women's approach to politics, which characterizes the women's movement in the awakening nations. And every woman present must have returned encouraged and refreshed to face the arduous work which awaited her at home.

It is to be hoped that many such seminars will be held in other parts of the world. What other government is now prepared to show concern for women's rights and equality, by generous expenditure and hospitality in bringing women from all over the world to a similar representative meeting?

Dora Russell is the well-known British feminist who, when she last attended a UN session, as representative of an affiliated women's organization, was confined by the State Dept. to a small part of New York City.

DORA RUSSELL (2nd from right) AT A UN RECEPTION, 1954
She found less freedom here then than in the U.S.S.R. this year

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WITHOUT CLICHES OR SLOGANS

A report on Russian life with burr of Scottish wit

IN FACE OF A WAVE of tourists to the U.S.S.R., there is an almost total dearth of simple, human, entertaining books to introduce that country to impending visitors. Qualifications for filling this vacuum obviously include a Western background as well as inside knowledge of the U.S.S.R., and an unrepressed sense of humor as well as a strong allergy to statistics, slogans and clichès.

These tests are admirably met by Archie Johnstone, "a Scot all his life" who married a Russian and for years has been a Moscow resident and "character." He is also quite a bit of a poet and his collections of delightfully rambling essays radiates that same independence of spirit that caused him, at the height of the cold war, to walk out of the British Embassy where he used to edit the Foreign Office magazine **British Ally.**

Ivan the Not-So-Terrible* tells you about all the aspects of Soviet life and the Russian character which the more solemn observers deem too trivial to mention: for example, the people's drinking habits, their grandmothers, and their attitude toward snow and cold. ("They like it. Napoleon didn't. The Nazis didn't. Who would?") He tangles repeatedly with the Russian language and manages to be both funny and illuminating about it, with gallant efforts to translate versified folk humor and punning.

Johnstone hasn't a word to say about Stalin or Khrushchev either, and attempts no political evaluation; he has merely poured into a mold of Scottish wit his affection for the ordinary people among whom he lives. If you have a friend with a passport, this is the present to give him on the eve of his Soviet visit. For the many whose "travel would not be in the best interests of the United States," it is a pleasant substitute for the journey you can't make.

—C.B.

**IVAN THE NOT-SO-TERRIBLE, by Archie Johnstone. British-Soviet Friendship Society, 36 Spencer St., London EC 1: 164 pp., $1.15 incl. postage.*

PRE-DAWN RAIDS

South Africa police seize 140 on treason charges for opposing racism

SHORTLY AFTER the South African government announced it will maintain only "token" representation at the UN because of complaints against its racist policies, the security police in pre-dawn raids on Dec. 5 in many parts of S. Africa arrested 140 whites, Africans, and Indians.

Among those seized under the blanket Communist Suppression Act were Methodist Rev. D. C. Thompson; Prof. Zachariah K. Matthews, acting head of the Fort Hare University College for non-whites; Mrs. Helen Joseph, secy. of the S. African Women's Fedn., who recently led a march of African women to protest their having to carry passes; and MP Leonard B. Lee-Warden, white representative of Cape Africans.

INDIA BLAMED: Also arrested were officials of the African Nat'l Congress, the Indian Congress, the Cape Colored Fedn., youth and women's organizations and trade unions. Charges ranged up to treason, punishable by death.

Foreign Minister Eric Louw said the arrests were necessary because India, supported by some Western nations, had incited the non-whites of S. Africa. (A UN majority has year after year supported India's complaint against S. Africa's racial discrimination. S. Africa decided to boycott the UN this year because the same item was again placed on the agenda).

On Dec. 9 more arrests were made at meetings called to protest the earlier ones. Police held back angry crowds with rifles and Sten guns as the arrested persons were taken to jail. Several organizations set up Defense Committees to raise funds for the victims.

DEFENSE FUND: Among the recent arrests were white lawyer Joe Slovon—who had defended an African in court—and his wife, Ruth; Philemon Nokwe, the Transvaal's only African attorney; African and Indian Congress leaders Chief Luthuli and Dr. Naicker; and Trade Union Congress president Leon Levy. Prominent S. African sponsors of a defense fund included two former judges, the Archbishop and the Dean of Capetown, the Bishop of Johannesburg and novelist Alan Paton. Two world-wide lawyers' organizations planned to send observers; one was the Intl. Lawyers' Assn. which sent observers to the 1933 Reichstag trials in Germany.

"ZIONISM WITHOUT NATIONALISM"

Israel can survive only in peace

By Ernest Simon

(The following is a condensation of an article entitled "Zionism Without Nationalism" which appeared in the Sept., 1956. issue of the independent magazine Liberation. *The author, Ernest Simon, a professor at Hebrew University in Israel, is at present a visiting professor at the University of Judaism in Los Angeles. The article was written, of course, before the invasion of Egypt.)*

THEODORE HERZL, the founder of political Zionism, envisaged Palestine as "the country without a people for the people without a country." Afterwards he came to realize that there was a people in Palestine and he was quite ready to take account of this stubborn fact. In his last picture of the new society Arabs and Jews work together in peace and friendship.

Only a small group of Zionists continued to see the Arab question as the central problem of the movement and of the upbuilding of the old homeland. They first met in the middle twenties when Prof. Joseph Horowitz of Frankfurt came to Jerusalem to organize the Oriental Institute of the Hebrew University. The "Brith Shalom" was founded, firstly as a small group to study the question thoroughly before proposing practical suggestions for its solution. The program of "Brith Shalom" was to erect in Palestine a bi-national state, where Jews and Arabs could live in perfect equality, no matter which of these peoples were in a majority.

THE RISE OF HITLER: Then came the year 1933. The catastrophe of the Jews in Germany, and then in most European countries, changed the very essence of the Zionist movement. The slow and deliberate upbuilding of the country by limited waves of immigration seemed no longer sufficient or even possible. Instead of redemption, salvation became the slogan.

Dr. Judah Magnes gathered around him three different groups of people. Veterans of the Palestine settlement, such as Kalwarisky and Moshe Smolansky; religiously disposed intellectuals, mostly of Martin Buber's school of thought, who saw in Zionism the redemption of their own humanity; and younger people, mostly of Western origin, who did not wish to renounce the humanistic and international tradition of their educational world.

THE FOUNDING OF ISRAEL: The program of the group was "Union" in a threefold sense, union between Jews and Arabs in a bi-national Palestine, union between the whole undivided country with a larger unity of the peoples of the Near East, and union of this region with the United Nations. A monthly **La'ayoth** (Problems), under the editorship of Buber, the present writer and Javriel Stern, fought for these ideas, by trying to put them into a broader framework of Zionist moral renaissance.

In 1948 the Jewish State was founded. In the throes of its birthpangs, Dr. Magnes had a conversation with its creator, David Ben-Gurion, who said something like the following:

There is no essential difference between us regarding the aims of Zionism, but there is a very great difference regarding the means to reach them. You, Dr. Magnes, believe that peace will bring us the State, however, a bi-national one. I, for one, am sure that the Jewish State will bring us peace.

UNION STILL THE GOAL: Our tragic situation consists in the fact that neither of these predictions came true. That became clear very soon with the outbreak of the unhappy Jewish-Arab war. For the circle of Ihud (the Magnes movement) the question arose, whether to be or not to be. It was especially the influence of Rabbi Binyamin and Dr. Heinrich Strauss that the answer was given in the affirmative.

Ihud stands for "union," today as before. The aim has remained, but the means have to be changed according to the changing situation. The State of Israel has come to remain. Its destruction or annihilation would not only bring disaster on all its inhabitants, Jews and Arabs alike, but to the bulk of the Jewish people all over the world.

But survival is not an aim in itself. It has to be justified by moral and religious values, at least as far as Jews are concerned. A new tiny "Balkan state," highly militarized like Sparta of old times, always in feuds with its neighbors, would be a very poor fulfillment of our messianic dreams.

So the Arab question, which is identical with the question of peace, turns out identical, to a large extent, with the Jewish question itself. It is upon us to try, again and again, to find a solution.

THE ARAB MINORITY: We have to work on three levels: the Arab minority in Israel; Israel's relations to its neighbors; Israel's and its neighbors' position in the world.

The Arab minority in Israel is in an economically satisfactory situation, but lives under military rule with all the humiliations and limitations necessarily linked to it. Many agricultural soils have not been given back to the legal proprietor, even if he never left the country. Most of these and other measures are defended by a lot of loose talk about "fifth column." But fifth columns are not born, they are created. The State of Israel has made a great mistake in alienating the loyalty of many of its Arab citizens. It has to make a real effort of reconciliation, in order to win them back.

The most important question standing between Israel and her neighbors is the many hundreds of thousands of refugees surrounding her boundaries. The Arab countries and Israel handled these unhappy people like chess pieces in their political play. It cannot be said that we Jews are exclusively responsible for the cruel fate of Arab refugees from Palestine, but it cannot be said either that we are free from all responsibility regarding them.

ROOM FOR MORE: There is no real solution in the proposal that Arab refugees should return to the very villages and houses where they dwelt before the war. These places are now occupied by other refugees, Jewish ones, and you cannot expel them without creating new wrongs to correct old ones. But not all of Israel has been colonized so far. There is room for newcomers as well as recomers. How many these could be, where they could be settled, are questions to be studied by an independent commission backed by the UN. The large majority of the refugees should find their new homes in the Arab states.

The Near East today is one of the danger spots of the map of the earth. The great powers of the West and East may very likely be dragged into a third World War by their half-hearted satellites, Jews and Arabs as well. If both these quarreling nations could make peace between themselves, they would spare unnecessary bloodshed of their own sons and contribute to general peace.

THE JOB AHEAD: Ihud thinks that the first and foremost task is to maintain peace. Against slogans in favor of a preventive war, we turn to our compatriots with a proclamation for a preventive peace. There is no way out of the involved problems of our relations with our Arab neighbors than **statesmanlike initiative**, accompanied by **genuine willingness to compromise** and work for mutual concessions.

War is not unpreventable. Prevent it!

NATO . . .

(Continued from Page 1)

Thomas L. Stokes was sure Nixon "will make the most" of his power to "advance his own candidacy for the Republican Presidential nomination in 1960," at which time, the Alsops agreed, he would be "a hard man to beat."

KISS AND MAKE UP: London and Paris, in great financial distress after the fiasco of their invasion of Egypt, felt relieved by Nixon's speech. Britain's gold and dollar reserves had sunk below the $2,000,000,000 danger point, and threatened to fall lower with the prospect of paying in dollars for American oil until the Suez Canal was cleared.

While Britain had secured a $1,300,000,000 combined drawing and line of credit from the Intl. Monetary Fund and negotiated a $500,000,000 line of credit with the Export-Import Bank, she hoped that Nixon's speech indicated that the U. S. and Canada would grant her request for cancellation of her $103,800,000 interest payment on loans due this year.

NATO members were in an optimistic mood, therefore, as they awaited the arrival of Dulles in Paris. One high NATO authority was even heard forecasting ecstatically that the conference "will be the love match of the year. The lovers are going to confess their faults, kiss and make up probably more warmly than ever before" (**AP**, 12/8.)

BUT DISCORD REIGNS: Dulles arrived in Paris on Dec. 10 for the NATO conference with the "firm purpose to bury past discords in a future of peaceful and fruitful cooperation." But the words were no sooner out of his mouth than discord flared up again. This was inevitable because disharmony was inherent in NATO from its inception; the fear of possible Soviet aggression, which had ostensibly brought them together seven years ago, had long since been dissipated.

While a Soviet threat to W. Europe has been exposed as imaginary, during NATO's seven years' existence Britain and France have used their NATO forces in suppressing colonial struggles for freedom in Cyprus and N. Africa and in the recent attack on Egypt. The last adventure brought into the open the split in NATO, which Dulles went to Paris to heal. Adenauer's Germany, meanwhile, seemed to be reneging on the 500,000 W. German troops it had promised NATO by 1960. Instead, free from the military expenditures such as Britain and France had to carry, W. German industrialists were successfully pushing London and Paris out of their world markets.

BACKSTOP FOR EMPIRE: It has become obvious that NATO was important to Britain and France not as a shield against alleged Soviet threat but as underpinning for their vanishing empires. Dulles could have repaired the split in the Atlantic alliance, as **CSM** editor Edwin Canham pointed out (12/10), by doing "what many of our best and oldest friends in Britain and France would like for us to do"—that is, "promise France aid in [holding] Algeria and Britain support in Cyprus." But this would have ruined any possibility of reaching some understanding with the uncommitted Afro-Asian nations whom the U. S. has recently been cultivating.

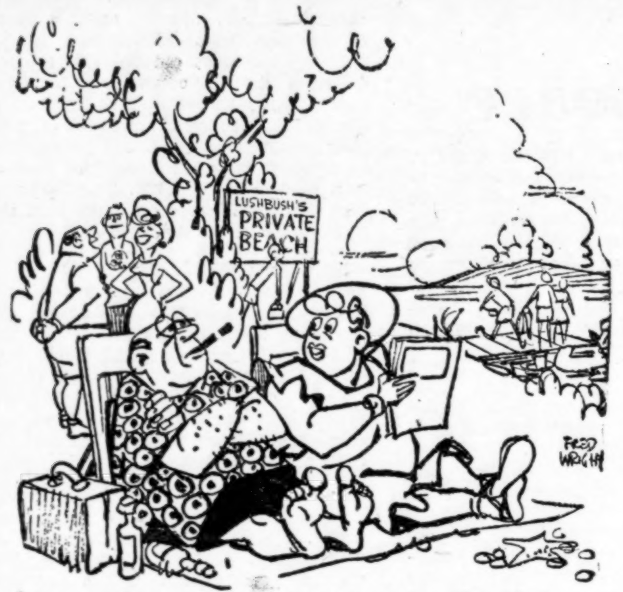
NATO PATCHERS IN PARIS

For Christmas Dulles and Wilson promise allies new war toys—and credit, perhaps —on the promise of improved behavior.

Dulles was thus obliged to temporize and compromise in Paris, satisfying no one. While supporting the principle of prior consultation among NATO members before any of them took action abroad, he had to reserve Washington's freedom to take military and political action anywhere in the world to protect U. S. interests without discussing it in the NATO Council. He agreed to support Anglo-French interests in the Suez Canal, but insisted that the issue should be settled in accordance with the UN resolution.

Washington's allies seemed determined to reduce their military expenditures and to pin their faith on the U. S. stockpile of nuclear weapons. Dulles agreed to supply NATO members with dual purpose arms which could fire conventional missiles and atomic warheads—but without the atomic warheads.

As Dulles left for home, it was evident that NATO's solidarity hinged on whether the U. S. could bail out Britain and France in the Middle East and coordinate the members' foreign policies in spite of conflicting economic interests. "Despite window dressing," the N. Y. **World-Telegram** reported (12/15), "little progress was made on either" issue at the Paris conference.



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Lawyer's Guild to meet Feb. 21-24

THE NATIONAL LAWYERS Guild will hold its annual convention February 21-24 at New York's Hotel Ambassador, with a banquet Sat., Feb. 23, in the hotel ballroom with an expected attendance of 900. Convention delegates will attend from all over the U. S. and from Hawaii.

The convention call was issued by Guild president Prof. Malcolm Sharp, University of Chicago law school; and Royal W. France, executive secretary. Attorney Frank Serri of Brooklyn heads the host city chapter. Reservations and further information may be obtained from Simon Schachter, exec.-secy., N.Y.C. Chapter, at 40 Exchange Place, New York 5, N. Y., Tel. HAnover 2-5970.

the SPECTATOR

Find the good road

Black Elk was an illiterate Dakota Sioux Indian who lived to see the Oglala Sioux society crushed, but he never lost heart or faith. A book devoted to his reminiscences tells how, when he finished his narrative with a description of the terrible massacre of his people at Wounded Knee in 1890, he pointed to a black peak in the Badlands and asked to be taken there before he died, "for there is something I want to say to the Six Grandfathers." In his youth Black Elk had been shown a vision there by the spirits, and he had need now to explain himself. What he said, remembering the troublous times of his people, seems pertinent to the spirit of the Prince of Peace in these troublous times of ours:

HAVING DRESSED AND PAINTED himself as he was in his great vision, Black Elk faced the west, holding the sacred pipe before him in his right hand. Then he sent forth a voice; and a thin, pathetic voice it seemed in that vast space around us.

"Hey-a-a-hey! Hey-a-a-hey! Hey-a-a-hey! Grandfather, Great Spirit, once more behold me on earth and lean to hear my feeble voice. You lived first, and you are older than all need, older than all prayer. All things belong to you—the two-leggeds, the four-leggeds, the wings of the air and all green things that live. You have set the powers of the four quarters to cross each other. The good road and the road of difficulties you have made to cross; and where they cross, the place is holy. Day in and day out, forever, you are the life of things.

"Therefore I am sending a voice, Great Spirit, my Grandfather, forgetting nothing you have made, the stars of the universe and the grasses of the earth.

"You have said to me, when I was still young and could hope, that in difficulty I should send a voice four times, once for each quarter of the earth, and you would hear me.

"Today I send a voice for a people in despair.

"YOU HAVE GIVEN ME a sacred pipe, and through this I should make my offering. You see it now.

"From the west, you have given me the cup of living water and the sacred bow, the power to make life and to destroy. You have given me a sacred wind and the herb from where the white giant lives—the cleansing power and the healing. The day-break star and the pipe, you have given from the east; and from the south, the nation's sacred hoop and the tree that was to bloom. To the center of the world you have taken me and showed the goodness and the beauty and the strangeness of the greening earth, the only mother, and there the spirit-shapes of things, as they should be, you have shown me and I have seen. At the center of the sacred hoop you have said that I should make the tree to bloom.

"WITH TEARS RUNNING, O Great Spirit, Great Spirit, my Grandfather—with running eyes I must say now that the tree has never bloomed. A pitiful old man, you see me here and I have fallen away and have done nothing. Here at the center of the world where you took me when I was young and taught me; here, old, I stand and the tree is withered, my Grandfather!

"Again, and maybe the last time on this earth, I recall the great vision you sent me. It may be that some little root of the sacred tree still lives. Nourish it then, that it may leaf and bloom and fill with singing birds. Hear me, not for myself but for my people; I am old. Hear me that they may once more go back into the sacred hoop and find the good road, the shielding tree."

(From **Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux,** by John G. Neihardt.)

NEW YORK

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INVADERS CHARGE PERSECUTION

UN reflects Middle East tensions

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y.

COMPLAINTS and counter-complaints made at the United Nations last week disclosed the extreme tension under which people have been living in the Middle East for several years. They also revealed how these tensions have been sharpened and aggravated and the legacy of bitterness inevitably left by the Anglo-French-Israeli invasion of Egypt.

Britain, France and Israel at the UN protested strongly against alleged persecution of their nationals in Egypt. A British delegate accused Cairo of expelling 2,500 and interning 700 of the 13,000 British nationals in Egypt. A French spokesman protested against Cairo's expulsion of 3,670 of the 8,000 French residents in Egypt. Israel complained of the Nasser regime's persecution of the entire Jewish community in Egypt.

Egyptian Foreign Minister Mahmoud Fawzi denied any wholesale persecution of aliens, admitted that some aliens have been interned for security reasons. He said that 280 "stateless Jews" had been asked to leave Egypt and 120 Jews had been interned.

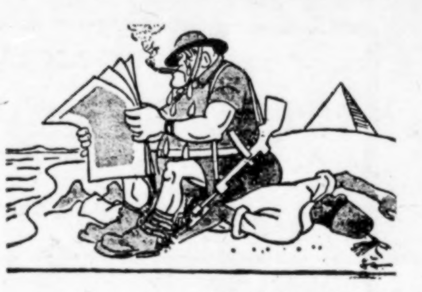
CONTRITION: Fawzi in turn protested to the UN General Assembly president against alleged Israeli persecution of Arabs in the Gaza Strip and the shooting down of 48 Arab men, women and children within Israel by Israeli policemen on Oct. 29. The Israeli delegation denied mistreating the Arabs in Gaza, admitted that Israeli policemen did shoot down Arab villagers, in Israel's border near Jordan, who were returning from work at dusk, unaware that a curfew had been proclaimed from 5 P.M. to 6 A.M.

After Premier Ben-Gurion announced the tragic incident, the Israeli parliament stood in a solemn expression of contrition and then adjourned. Ben-Gurion said the policemen responsible for the shooting would face trial and families of the victims would receive compensation, although "no amount of money can possibly compensate for the loss of human life."

Egypt also complained of the slowness of Israeli withdrawal from the Sinai peninsula, where Yugoslav members of the UN Emergency Force were halted by Israeli troops 31 miles from the Suez Canal. Israeli sources insisted that their country must get assurances of freedom from Egyptian commando raids before their troops evacuated Sinai. The status of the Gaza Strip, they said, must await a political settlement with Egypt.

GUERRILLAS ATTACK: Bitterness also erupted into violence at Port Said as the Anglo-French forces prepared for their final withdrawal. In retaliation for the ambush slaying of a British officer by Egyptian guerrillas, tank-supported Anglo-French troops on Dec. 15 launched an elaborate attack, combing the streets and rooftops and firing at the elusive guerrillas. After an unknown number of Egyptians were killed, the British and French forces withdrew behind barbed wire fences close to the docks. Disclaiming responsibility for the guerrilla attacks, the Egyptian delegation emphasized the necessity for speedy withdrawal of alien troops from Egyptian soil.

The oil shortage created by the Suez blockade remained acute as Egypt and Syria insisted on complete foreign troop withdrawal before any salvage operation in the Suez Canal and repair of damaged oil pipelines in Syria.

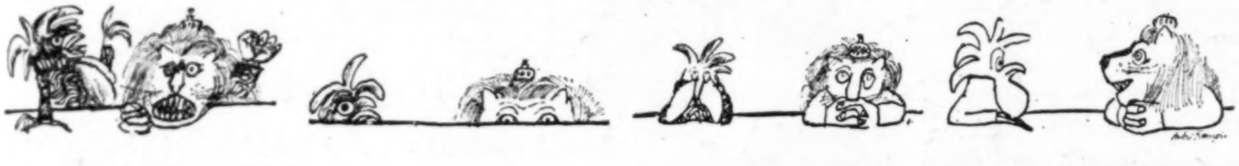


Canard Enchaine, Paris

"My God, those poor Hungarians!"

UN ADMITS JAPAN: While the Egyptian war continued to have repercussions throughout the world, another chapter of World War II came to a close as the UN Security Council unanimously recommended Japan's membership in the United Nations. General Assembly approval of Japan's membership was a foregone conclusion.

In Tokyo, the election of Tanzan Ishibashi on Dec. 14 as president of the majority Liberal-Democratic party practically assured him of Japan's premiership. Ishibashi was known as a proponent of withdrawal of U. S. troops from Japan and as an ardent supporter of trade with China. His election indicated that Japan would henceforth follow an independent foreign policy and lean toward and strengthen the Asian-African group in the UN. — K. G.



Francois in Tribune des Nations, Paris

Nasser has frowned. This means WAR! Dulles has frowned . . . Now Dulles is smiling . . . After all, "Suez". Never heard of it. What is it?

Heads up, girls!

Q. After a recent date my son came home with lipstick all over his shirt. I won't say anything more on that subject but would appreciate it (as I'm sure would a good many other mothers of young men) if you could tell me how I can remove these stains.

—Mrs. F. D., Mineola

A. Usually lipstick will disappear with ordinary laundering but some spots are set by soap. First sponge the spot with carbon tetrachloride.

From "What's Your Problem?" **Newsday,** Hempstead, N. Y., 11/23.

CALENDAR

Chicago

EARL ROBINSON sings at 8th Annual **FESTIVAL OF NATIONALITIES**, Sat. eve., Jan. 12. Colorful folk songs, dances. Milda Theatre, 3140 S. Halsted. Adm. $1. Door-$1.25. Ausp: Midwest Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born.

Detroit

A HEAVENLY AFFAIR . . . Gala New Year's Eve Party, sponsored by Northland Sunday School, at Stage Center (formerly World Stage), 13525 Woodward. Presenting "My Three Angels," rollicking comedy success, followed by midnight supper, dancing, entertainment. $7.50 per person. Reservations limited. Call KE 3-0817.

Philadelphia

ESLANDA GOODE ROBESON speaks on "The Role of Africa in World Events", Fri., Jan. 4, 8:30 p.m. Benjamin Franklin Hotel. Adm. $1.50. Benefit Legal Fund of Dismissed Teachers.

Los Angeles

DILEMMA OF THE AMERICAN INDIANS Public Forum, Fri., Jan. 11, 8 p.m., Auditorium First Unitarian Church, 2936 West 8 St. (near Vermont & 8th). Speakers and panelists: **CLARENCE WESLEY**, Apache chief, vice-pres. National Congress American Indians; **ATALOA**, Chickasaw, singer, lecturer, Indian Council leader; **OLA BECKETT**, field director, Bureau Indian Affairs; **ALIDA C. BOWLER**, first woman Indian Agency superintendent; **MYRON** and **VIRGINIA DENETDALE**, Navajo graduates Riverside Sherman Institute. Admission: 75 cents.

New York

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Av.) **"LAUGHTER THROUGH TEARS,"** Dec. 22. Mirrors Jewish life in old Russia by bringing to the screen the great charm and tenderness of Sholom Aleichem's tales. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"DUMBO"** (U.S.)

PRE-NEW YEAR'S EVE DANCE (5-piece band). Wishing ourselves a happy labor party New Year. Earl (Ballad for Americans) Robinson, folksinger; Comedy, dramatic reading; Vanzetti's last speech, Debs' Canton speech. Sat., Dec. 29, 8:30 p.m., Main Ballroom, 405 W. 41 St. Cont. $1.50. Ausp: N.Y. Citizens for Democratic Socialism.

Continue your summer fun at **CAMP MIDVALE's FOLK DANCING** sessions. Every Friday night at Yugoslav Hall, 405 W. 41 St., 8 p.m. Sponsored by the M.R.A. Adm.: M.R.A. members 40c, guests 75 cents.

Listings in the Calendar and Classified section are available at 40c a line (five words): minimum charge $2 per insertion.

Copy deadline Monday before publication. Please send payment with copy. Address: Classified National Guardian, 197 East 4th Street, New York 9, N. Y.

CLASSIFIED

General

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Books and Publications

BOOKFAIR'S BARGAIN OF THE WEEK: "Simple Speaks His Mind," by Langston Hughes. Original $3 cloth edition. SALE PRICE $1. Clip this ad. Add 15c for mailing. Watch this space for weekly bargains. **BOOKFAIR,** 113 W. 49 St., New York 19, N.Y.

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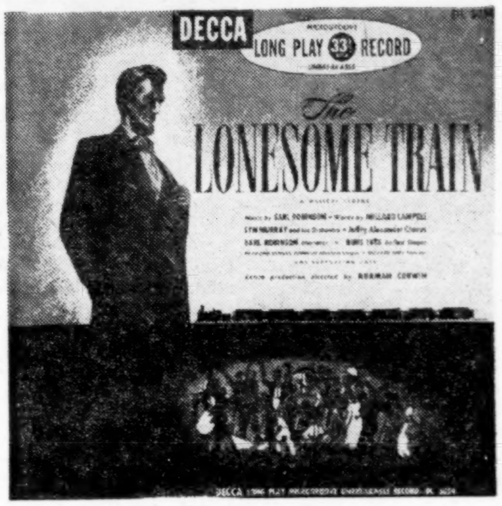

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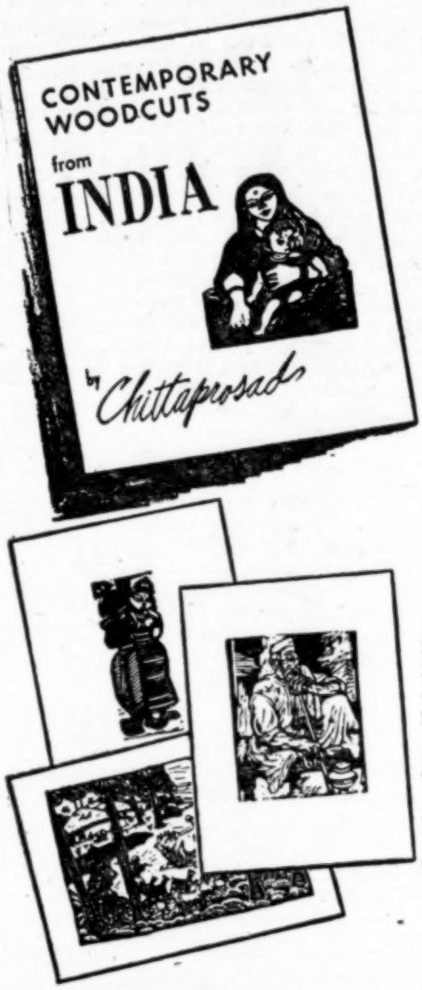
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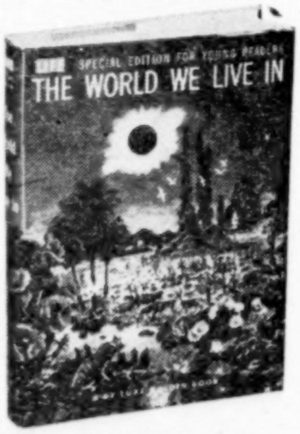

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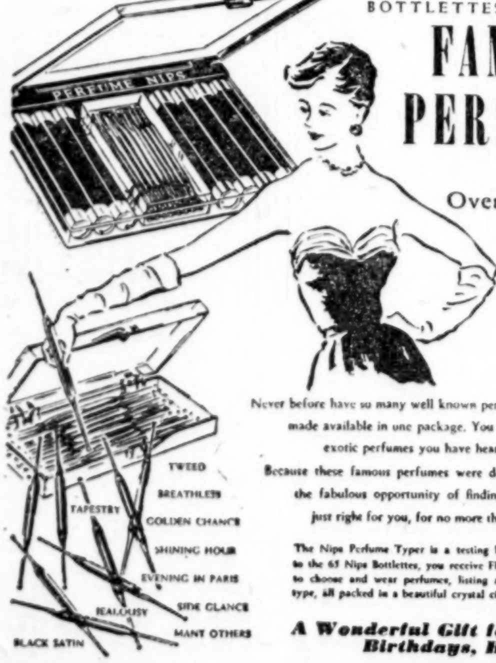

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